

Surára
Pakidái

/44 cont. /

301 Into the pierced ear-lobes there are sometimes inserted
825 small feathers of the anambé azul (Catinga cayana L.) -- pauxf
237 osuemekés --, while a tail feather of the arara vermelha (Ara
[554] macao L.) -- pauxf aratexiná -- occasionally adorns the perfora-
tion of the lower lip (Ill. 11). These ornamental objects may be
used by older as well as younger warriors.

[62] The making of feather ornaments is incumbent upon the men,
who, however, do it very superficially. As a result of the wealth
of birds in their dwelling and roving areas, however, it is no
trouble to renew damaged pieces very quickly.

Finally, it should be mentioned as a peculiarity that
Surára and Pakidái men often glue the white down-feathers of the
gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- koikoimão -- in the hair
with tree resin. Usually they are arranged in the form of a wreath
so that they give the effect of a head circlet (Ill. 9), but some-
times they are scattered through the hair at random. The orna-
mental idea, however, plays only a secondary role in this case,
for this feather covering is regarded as a trophy. In the opinion
of these Indians, sickness and evil in general come from hostile
tribes, above all from the Waiká. They are caused by magical
performances of the medicine men, who for this use these birds
or bats as transmitters, in whose bodies they send their own souls.
Now if the Surára and Pakidái kill such an animal, they believe
that a hostile medicine man has at the same time met his end
(see also pp.211 and 229).

301 The feather ornaments of the Surára and Pakidái are, of
825 course, unable to compete with the magnificent feather ornaments
171 of the Urubu-Kaapor, Munduruku /Mundurucu/, Tapirapé, Karajá
/Caraja/, Boróro, Guajajára, Tembé, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mawé
/Maue/, Arara, Tukano /Tucano/, and Xingú Indians, which
were worked out in detail and classified by Darcy and Berta G.
Ribeiro (237) (238), but they show how differently the individual

237. Darcy Ribeiro and Berta G. Ribeiro,
1957.

238. Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

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75 If a child is frightened, the mother or guardian quickly
774 takes a handful of leaves and sweeps the place where the little creature was frightened. They do this so that the child's soul will not run off in fear and the child become sick.

/480/ Sometimes when a child is sick, they believe that the soul of the little creature has abandoned its body. Then they dispatch commissions in pursuit of it, which pass through the sites where they suspect that the child has been, and they come back sweeping the path with some branches and calling aloud for the little creature. If the child improves, it is because its soul was found; otherwise they must have missed the site where it was.

755 They believe that some sicknesses are due to the spirit or
[753] spirits which have got into the body of the sick person. In order
[776] for the sick person to recover his health, the harmful spirit must be cast out of his body. The one who tries to remove this spirit from the body of a sick person first takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage. He then intones a crooning song, while he marches to and fro in front of the patient. Then, from time to time he approaches the latter and rubs the affected part, which he pinches and hits, pulling on it, threatening the spirit and asking it to go away, making all sorts of noises in order to frighten the spirit (or spirits) so that they will go away. After being with his patient for a few minutes, he resumes the crooning. This practice is repeated many times, and if the desired outcome is not obtained, other men will test their forces, trying to cast out from there the harmful spirit.

[776] They might then come to the conclusion that this is not a matter of a sickness caused by a spirit hidden in the body of the sick person, but rather by one which has hidden in some part of the settlement. Thus a group of men organizes a "hunt for the spirit." Each of them takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage, and, after crooning for a short time in front of the sick person, they begin to make an inspection throughout the settlement, house by house, inspecting every basket and corner, swinging machetes and axes, pointing with the arrows, blowing through the "yopo" tubes as if they were blowguns, continuing the whole

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726
123 Then the inhabitants of the aldea began to come back from the forest. Seeing him lying motionless in a puddle of blood, each group that came supposed that he was dead, and they were mourning greatly for a few minutes, lamenting him, before those who knew what had happened were able to quiet them. Finally, one of the older men with sufficient presence of mind said that he wanted to take him to the aldea, if this were possible.

First the man tried to walk on his own feet to the aldea, but "Joashimocaoue" was very weak and in much pain, and he could not do this at all. Therefore a hammock was sent for. They tied this to a post before rolling up the wounded man in it; two men carried him to the aldea. That night he again became unconscious. Two women came and told us, "We are weeping again." I recommended to David that he stay and pray while I sent to see what could be done.

Upon arriving in the aldea, I found him unconscious in his hammock. They wanted me to put some medicine on his wounds, but there he was, unconscious. I said, "Let us pray first." Almost all of the believers who were there, and even those who had never professed to be believers, prayed with me for him. I prayed first and then they all repeated it together, asking God to spare his life. I had never seen a gathering of Yonomama praying so fervently before or since then. I do not know exactly how long we were praying, but it must have been about an hour.

/163/ When all had finished praying, we looked over and there he was, conscious again. He sat up and asked me if they had treated his wounds. I put sulfa powder on them and bandaged them. After this he did not lose consciousness again, and although his wounds were very painful, he went along well without any complications arising, although the tip of the poisoned point must still have been stuck in some part of his back.

721 The men of Majecototjeti returned from their raid on the Liacoatjeti without finding anyone in their houses.

123 A little before this an old woman from Shibaatfa-tjeti
75 visited some of her Majecototjeti relatives and told them how in
[607] her aldea they did not like foreigners, because they were always curing people. When someone in the aldea was wounded, they

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75 wanted that person to die. I assured them that we alone had not cured the boy. The whole aldea had asked God to cure him, and God had answered. The people of the aldea affirmed that this was the case. They had prayed sufficiently, and God had spared his life.

726 The chief's brother came to Yabitjaotjeti and told the chief that the Liacoatjeti had been visiting upriver and that now they were on their way to their homes in their own aldea.

[622] The chief called a meeting for another raid. First the whole aldea moved across the river in order to get away from the bank that was easy for the Shibaatfa-tjeti to attack. David and I picked up our hammocks and went with them across the river. On the following day the men set off on the raid, or, more properly, they went down to the Bisheasetjeti to depart from there. Only the adult men went; the boys and children 17 years old or less remained at home.

727 This time David and I were able to pray that they might not fight. We asked, rather, that the Lord might protect the believers from danger. He did it. The raiders /164/ were gone about three weeks. When they returned, the chief came to the aldea and had an official colloquy, briefly, with the most important man who was left in the aldea. At most the chanted colloquy lasted about half a minute. Then they all began to cry. Someone had been killed. We looked to see who had come back and, if possible, to see who was missing. Some of the men had red marks on their cheeks and on the forehead as a sign that they had killed someone or had "hecho" /done, finished/ much in the fight, for they did not know whether they had killed anyone or not.

[302] I later learned that three of the enemy had been killed, and that one of those of the party, a man from Macollmutjeti, had been wounded in the chest and had died.

727 The underbrush had been cleared away at the site of our temporary aldea, which thus would not serve for the matadores /killers/ to fulfill the rites of a matador as they should be done in thick underbrush. Therefore within an hour we moved to a

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When Kaobawā's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3-7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play as being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yokimau*) Yanomamō girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yanomamō word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*no*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yanomamō women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yanomamō constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kaobawā in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kaobawā will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yanomamō sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yanomamō shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekara*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the children's souls (*nomshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The